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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

UNESCO HOUSE, PARIS (20-27 MAY 1981)

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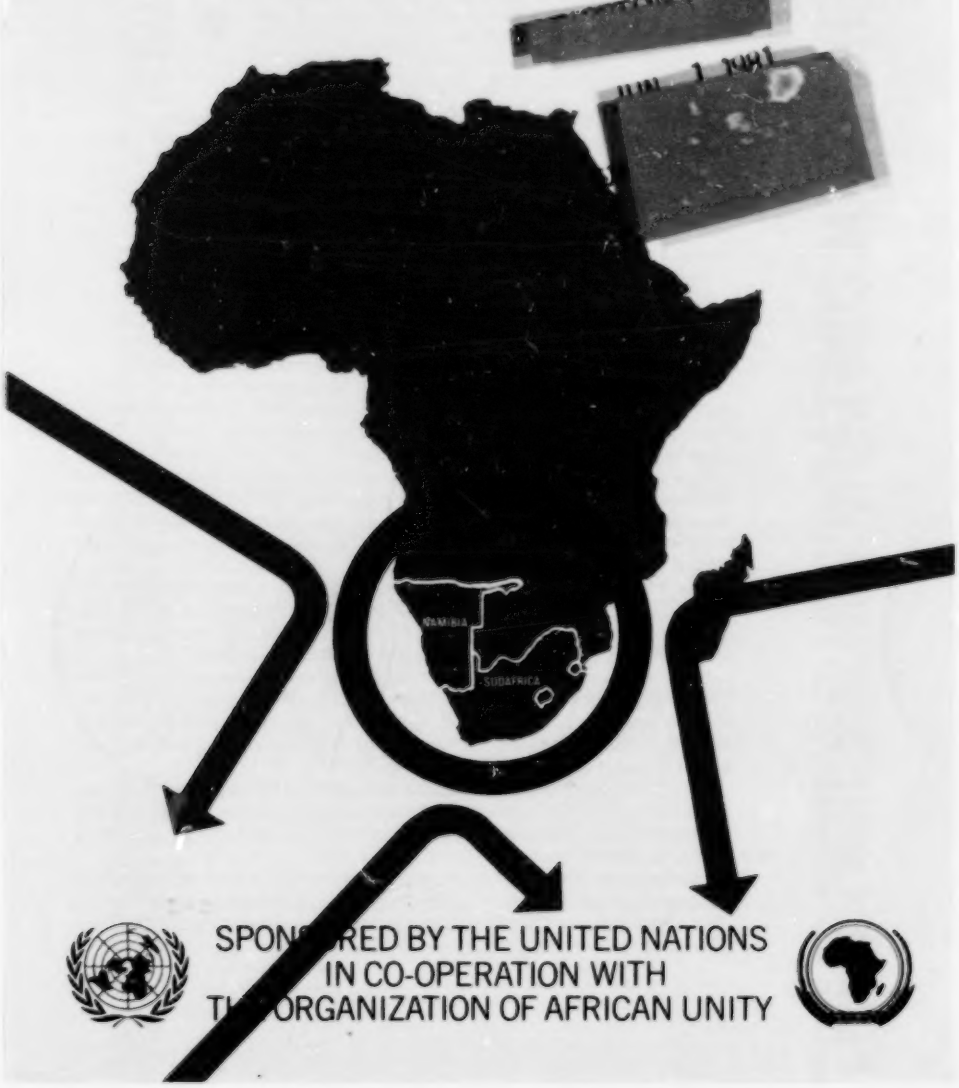

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IN CO-OPERATION WITH
THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

UNESCO HOUSE, Paris

20-27 May 1981

The International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa—sponsored by the United Nations, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU)—will be held at UNESCO House, Paris, from 20 to 27 May 1981.

The Conference will consider further international action to eliminate *apartheid* in South Africa and to promote a non-racial society guaranteeing the enjoyment of equal rights by all the people of South Africa, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

The United Nations General Assembly has repeatedly affirmed its conviction that universally applied economic and other sanctions against South Africa, instituted by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter (which provides for enforcement action), are essential to resolve the grave situation in South Africa and avert a wider international conflict. It has affirmed its determination to concert international efforts, in close co-operation with OAU, for the speedy eradication of *apartheid* in South Africa and the liberation of the South African people.

A mandatory arms embargo against South Africa under Chapter VII was imposed by the Security Council on 4 November 1977. But action has not been taken on economic and other sanctions because of the opposition of three permanent members of the Security Council and several other major trading partners of South Africa.

The International Conference is intended to be a forum for a full exchange of views on all forms of international action aimed at eradicating *apartheid* in South Africa, including further sanctions, and for considering ways to intensify and better co-ordinate international action.

It will review measures taken by the international community, study the desirability, feasibility and effectiveness of further measures, and exchange views on a new programme of action. It is hoped that the Conference will result in significant steps being taken towards more effective action, through consultation and consensus.

The Conference will also explore possibilities for separate action by States, in advance of universally applied measures under the auspices of the Security Council, as well as action by non-governmental organizations and individuals.

Participants in the Conference will include Governments and intergovernmental organizations, national liberation movements recognized by the United Nations and OAU, anti-*apartheid* movements and other non-governmental organizations, and individual experts.

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The Preparatory Committee of the International Conference consists of the officers of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*, and representatives of the United Nations Secretary-General, the OAU Secretary-General, the Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia (African National Congress of South Africa, Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the South West Africa People's Organization).

The United Nations Secretary-General has designated Issoufou Djermakoye, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization, as Secretary-General of the International Conference. Enuga S. Reddy, Director of the Centre against *Apartheid*, is Executive Secretary.

The OAU Secretary-General has designated Peter Onu, Assistant OAU Secretary-General, as Political Secretary of the International Conference.

Agenda and organizational arrangements

The provisional agenda of the conference includes four main items:

1. *Review of the present situation.*
2. *International action against* **apartheid** *and in support of the struggle for liberation in South Africa: review of action taken by Governments and organizations and consideration of further action.*
3. *Consideration of all aspects of sanctions against South Africa.*
4. *Declaration of the Conference.*

The Conference will have a plenary, as well as a Political Commission and a Technical Commission.

The Political Commission will consider items 2 and 3 of the agenda.

The Technical Commission will consider item 3 of the agenda, with particular reference to:

(a) *Means for full and effective implementation of the arms embargo against South Africa;*

(b) *Means to prevent the acquisition of nuclear-weapons capability by South Africa; and*

(c) *Feasibility, effectiveness and implications of other sanctions against South Africa, including:*

  (i) *Diplomatic measures;*
  (ii) *Oil embargo;*
  (iii) *Prohibition of loans and investments;*
  (iv) *Cessation of airline and shipping connections; and*
  (v) *Selective or comprehensive embargo on trade.*

The Declaration of the Conference will be prepared by a Steering Committee and adopted at the final plenary session.

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The Conference will elect a President and other officers, and decide on its proceedings in the light of the guidelines approved by the Preparatory Committee.

According to these guidelines:

All Governments, organizations and individuals invited to the Conference will be entitled to participate in the plenary meetings and in the two Commissions. The plenary meetings will be devoted to statements by representatives of Governments and intergovernmental organizations, as well as a limited number of special guests, representatives of non-governmental organizations and experts designated by the Preparatory Committee. All participants will be entitled to speak in the Commissions.

All meetings will be open to the press and the public unless otherwise decided.

There will be two plenary meetings on the opening day of the Conference, 20 May, for opening statements and election of officers. Thereafter, plenary meetings and meetings of the Commissions will be held simultaneously.

It is hoped that all decisions at the Conference will be reached unanimously or by consensus. In case voting is required, only representatives of United Nations Member States will be entitled to vote.

The official languages of the Conference are English and French. Interpretation will be provided from and into Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.

The United Nations and sanctions against South Africa

The United Nations has been concerned with the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa since the first General Assembly session in 1946. It has repeatedly condemned *apartheid*, which became the official policy of that country in 1948, and the repression and killings of the black people who resist it. It has also repeatedly appealed to the South African Government to abandon *apartheid*, release all political prisoners and seek a peaceful solution by consultation with the genuine representatives of all the people of South Africa.

The United Nations has unanimously determined that *apartheid* is a crime against the conscience and dignity of mankind and is incompatible with the rights and dignity of man, the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It recognizes that *apartheid* and repression greatly aggravate the situation in South Africa and seriously disturb international peace and security, and that the situation will inevitably lead to violent conflict and racial conflagration with serious international repercussions.

It also recognizes the legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people to eliminate *apartheid* and establish a democratic society.

Repeated acts of aggression and subversion by the South African Government against neighbouring independent African States have also been condemned by the United Nations.

On 13 June 1980, for instance, the Security Council unanimously called on the South Africa regime "to take measures immediately to eliminate the policy of *apartheid* and grant to all South African citizens equal rights, including equal political rights, and a full and free voice in the determination of their destiny". These measures, it stated, should include:

"(a) *Granting of an unconditional amnesty to all persons imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their opposition to* ***apartheid***;

"(b) *Cessation forthwith of its indiscriminate violence against peaceful demonstrators against* ***apartheid***, *murders in detention and tortures of political prisoners*;

"(c) *Abrogation of the bans on political parties and organizations and the news media opposed to* ***apartheid***;

"(d) *Termination of all political trials*;

"(e) *Provision of equal education opportunities to all South Africans*."

In view of the intransigence of the South African Government, United Nations bodies have considered and taken a number of measures to persuade the South African Government to heed world opinion. They have also acted to assist the oppressed people of South Africa and their national liberation movement.

African and other States have called for extensive international sanctions against South Africa ever since the Sharpeville massacre of 21 March 1960, when the South African police shot unarmed demonstrators against pass laws, killing 69 and wounding nearly 200. On 6 November 1962, the General Assembly requested all Member States to take these measures to bring about the abandonment of *apartheid*:

"(a) *Breaking off diplomatic relations with the Government of the Republic of South Africa or refraining from establishing such relations*;

"(b) *Closing their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag*;

"(c) *Enacting legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports*;

"(d) *Boycotting all South African goods and refraining from exporting goods, including all arms and ammunition, to South Africa*;

"(e) *Refusing landing and passage facilities to all aircraft belonging to the Government of South Africa and companies registered under the laws of South Africa*."

Similar requests have been made almost annually by the General Assembly since 1962, but the Security Council has limited itself to an arms embargo.

In 1977, the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held at Lagos, called for a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. The Conference, organized by the United Nations in co-operation with OAU, stated:

"The Conference recognizes the urgent need for economic and other measures, universally applied, to secure the elimination of ***apartheid****. It commends all Governments which have taken such measures in accordance with United Nations resolutions. It calls upon the United Nations and all Governments, as well as economic interests, including transnational corporations, urgently to consider such measures, including the cessation of loans to, and investments in, South Africa. It requests the Special Committee against* ***Apartheid****, in co-operation with the Organization of African Unity and all other appropriate organizations, to promote the implementation of the above recommendations."*

Soon after the Lagos Conference, in November 1977, the Security Council adopted its mandatory arms embargo, but since there has been no progress on economic and other sanctions, the Special Committee against *Apartheid* has continued its efforts to promote further action.

Summit conferences of the OAU and the non-aligned countries in 1979 endorsed the Special Committee's suggestion for an International Conference to mobilize the widest possible support for sanctions, and the proposal was endorsed by the General Assembly.

Appeal by Preparatory Committee Chairman

B. Akporode Clark (Nigeria), Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* and of the Preparatory Committee for the International Conference, recalled in a statement on 13 March 1981 that progress had been made since sanctions against South Africa were proposed in the United Nations after the 1960 Sharpeville massacre. He said:

"Many countries which did not support sanctions at that time have become persuaded by the developments since then to accept that sanctions constitute a viable alternative to violence or use of force in trying to eliminate ***apartheid*** *in South Africa. I have in mind, for instance, the Nordic States and other smaller Western States.*

"Our friends of Socialist countries have all along stood with us and we are most grateful.

"The Security Council has adopted a mandatory arms embargo in 1977. Despite its limitations, that embargo has a great significance as a unique decision under the United Nations Charter . . .

"Not only anti- ***apartheid*** *movements, but all major trade union organizations, churches, student and youth organizations and many others have, of course, been committed to sanctions."*

He added:

"*I need not underline here that the time has come to insist that the Security Council and its permanent members should discharge their solemn responsibilities under the Charter. But more importantly, the responsibility for sanctions does not lie only with the Security Council but with the spontaneous desire and will of Member States, organizations and individuals to ensure that everything possible is done to bring about the destruction and elimination of* ***apartheid*** . . .

"*The South African regime—driven to a corner by the liberation of most of Africa—has escalated aggression against neighbouring States, killing and kidnapping refugees. It has resorted to indiscriminate killing of little children demonstrating for equal education.*

"*Sanctions are the most effective peaceful action which the international community can take—in fact, an action which it must take in accordance with the United Nations Charter—to put an end to the intolerable situation which threatens to engulf the whole region in a catastrophic conflict.*

"*It is our hope and belief that the Paris International Conference will address itself to this situation in all its aspects . . .*

"*We will make every effort to make progress by consultation and consensus. We have invited all countries, including those who have had reservations on sanctions, to join in these consultations. We even invite them to make any alternative proposals, if they have any, so that we can consider them . . .*".

He concluded:

"*We recognize that the International Conference is not a legislative body and cannot make binding decisions. Such decisions will need to be made by the Security Council, by individual Governments, and others.*

"*But the International Conference will be a forum to highlight the danger which South Africa poses not only to Africa but to the peace of the world. It will point the directions for action. It will help mobilize public opinion for action. It will also be an opportunity for Governments, liberation movements and non-governmental organizations and individual experts to get together and to consult thoroughly as to how the growing consensus for sanctions and other concrete measures can be translated into a more effective and co-ordinated campaign.*"

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